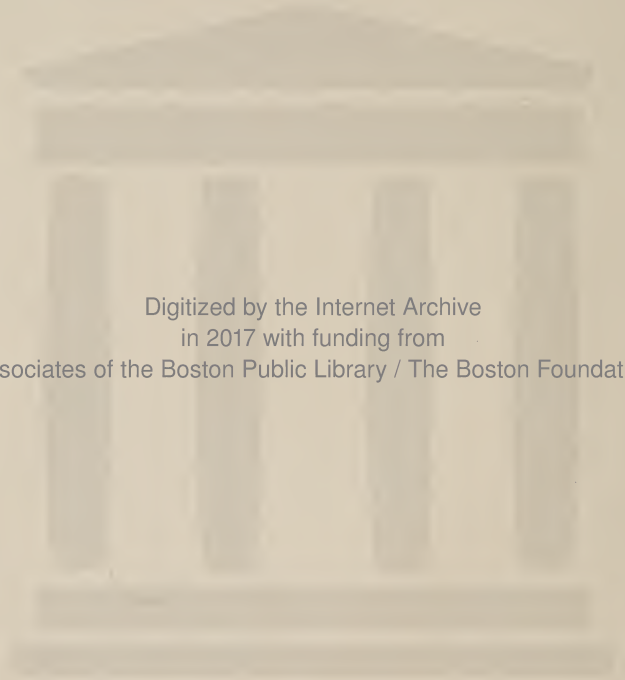




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PERSONAL SLAVERY

ESTABLISHED,

William BY THE SUFFRAGES *Peccé*

O F

*7587. 101

CUSTOM AND RIGHT REASON.

BEING A FULL

A N S W E R

To the gloomy and visionary REVERIES, of all
the fanatical and enthusiastical WRITERS on
that SUBJECT.

However amiable Justice and Virtue may be in our abstract ideas
of them: the policy of Kingdoms and Commercial States,
ought ever to be regulated by the more important con-
siderations of necessity and convenience.

MACHIAVELUS AMERICANUS, Vol. 3d. Page 273.

All Discord's harmony not understood;
All partial evil, universal good:
And, spite of Pride, in erring Reason's spite,
One Truth is clear, *Whatever is, is right.*

ESSAY ON MAN.

PUBLIC LIBRARY

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THE DEDICATION.

TO THE WORSHIPFUL COMMITTEE-MEN
OF THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR WORSHIPS,

THE intention of the publication before you, being to vindicate a cause which has been a principal object of your attention, has a consequent claim to your patronage, I shall therefore make no apology for inscribing it to you. Notwithstanding the endeavours of ignorant bigots, to represent the Slave trade in an odious light, I hope this humble attempt to expose them, will meet your approbation ; and convince the world that the lustre of your characters is by no means impaired, but that like pure metal, the more they are rubbed by those enthusiastic advocates for liberty, the brighter they will shine. I am under no personal obligations to you—the gratitude I feel arises from a nobler source—it is a just tribute to that generous disinterested exertion of benevolence and philanthropy, which has been the principal means of heaping wealth and honours on Europeans and Americans, and rescuing many millions of wretched Africans, as *brands from the fire*, and even compelling them to the enjoyment of a more refined state of happiness, than the partiality of fate had assigned them in their native state. Go on, worthy sirs ! in the glorious work ; and continue to merit from every liberal mind, that gratitude and admiration, which warmly impress that of, honoured gentlemen,

Your most obedient, and very humble servant,

THE AUTHOR.

1888-1889

1889-1890

1890-1891

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been admitted to the membership of the Society since the last meeting of the Council. The names are arranged in alphabetical order of the surnames. The names of the persons who have been admitted to the membership of the Society since the last meeting of the Council are as follows: [The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible due to the quality of the scan. It appears to be a list of names, possibly followed by their respective dates of admission or other details.]

T H E
P R E F A C E.

IT is well observed by some author I have read, that the best human institutions partake of imperfection; and the most excellent constitution has its defects.—The liberty of the press has doubtless some advantages; but it may be questioned whether these outweigh its inconveniencies. We may certainly reckon among the latter, the opportunities with which it furnishes *weak* men of venting the idle dreams of a distempered brain; or designing ones of carrying on their dark purposes, by misrepresentation, slander, or other mischievous means. Had it not been for this unrestrained liberty of the press, the task I have undertaken would have been probably needless; and I had been spared the distress which attends me, in being obliged to expose my poor abilities to the publick view. Confiding however in its candour, I will not increase my claim on its patience by a long preface. I will only say, that in gratitude to the author of "*Slavery not forbidden by scripture, &c.*" I have endeavoured to adopt this plan so fully, that the following pages may answer the purpose of a second edition of that celebrated work, with some corrections, transpositions, and emendations.

NEW-CASTLE COUNTY, Nov. 26th, 1773.

PERSONAL

PERSONAL SLAVERY

E S T A B L I S H E D, &c.

HAVING attentively perused several of the late publications on the subject of personal Slavery, I think it may not be amiss if I state, in a summary way, the arguments adduced in them for and against the practice; and draw such conclusions; as may be warrantable from the premises. The first on the subject, which I shall notice, is a pamphlet intitled,

Considerations on keeping Negroes, &c. by John Woolman. As his arguments against the practice are all drawn from the Old and New Testament, and their authority has been long since rejected by some of our most prevailing systems of politics, I think it is unnecessary to say more, than that it appears to be the dull productions of a visionary enthusiast.—The next work in my catalogue, is

A short account of that part of Africa inhabited by the Negroes, &c. The author or compiler of this work has taken great pains to convince us, that he concurs with a number of other authors in condemnation of the Slave-trade, as unjust, cruel, and impolitic; and to support
their

their opinions, relates a number of what he would suppose are facts. Now as those supposed facts constitute the foundation of most of his arguments, if they are removed little need be said to prove his opinions to be idle and nugatory. Those facts are generally the relations of men, who are, or have been concerned or employed in the trade to Africa for Slaves, unsupported by a single affidavit; or any other *legal* proof of their authority; and moreover men speaking in a cause in which they are parties; and therefore cannot be supposed to tell the *whole* truth, even could we suppose what they have told is truth. I could produce numberless authorities from our law books, to prove that no evidence can be admitted but what is well established *on oath*, and that all offered by parties to the matter in dispute, must be rejected. Such is the law; and the law being allowed to be the perfection of reason, it follows that the arguments of our author on the subject of slavery, are not only unreasonable, but also illegal, and therefore inadmissible.—Proceed we therefore to consider,

A caution and warning to Great-Britain and her colonies, &c. by Ant. Benezet. I will promise that on a particular enquiry, I have found that this gentleman has no Negroes, and no concern in trade. We can therefore be at no difficulty in accounting for a certain contraction of sentiment, evident in his abstract ideas of right and wrong. They are merely theoretick, and a little acquaintance with men and things would convince him, are better calculated for the amusement of recluse bigots, than the attention of men endued with a more liberal turn of thinking, and enlarged ideas. The general arguments he has made use of, are so similar to those of the last mentioned piece, that the objections I have advanced
in

in considering *that*, are also applicable to this. The extract of a sermon preached by the Bishop of Gloucester, which he has presumptuously tacked to the end of his pamphlet, is such an absurd rhapsody, as in less corrupt times would have deprived the Bishop of his See. Perhaps it has been tenderly winked at, as owing to that intense application, which at the time that it opened the treasures of knowledge to his view, obscured his faculties in using them.

The next piece on the subject, which I have met with, is *an address to the inhabitants of the British settlements in America, upon Slave-keeping, &c.* As this piece is particularly animadverted on in a judicious and very candid defence of the practice in general, and particularly of the West-India planters from the calumnies it contains, I shall state the sum of the arguments from each, together. This last tract is entitled,

Slavery not forbidden by Scripture; or, a Defence of the West-India planters from the aspersions, &c. by a West-Indian. As the author's place of residence was such, as must afford him the best opportunities of being well acquainted with his subject; and it does not appear from the title page, that he had any concern in the slave trade, nor had reaped any advantage from the labour of slaves, we cannot hesitate in giving his sentiments their due weight, in opposition to all that has been advanced against Slavery, by men who have not had his opportunities. From the observations I have already made, I have left but little room to doubt which side of the question I espouse; and it will appear further evident from those I may make, as in expressing my sentiments of the address I shall be apt, very frequently to use the words of the Defence, in adopt-

ing this method, I hope I shall not incur the charge of plagiarism, as I believe the essence of that crime consists in borrowing from an author without confessing the debt. These things being premised, I shall proceed to consider the Address not only as it relates to Slavery, but also as a most scandalous and audacious libel on *every* individual inhabitant of *every* island in the West-Indies.

The author of the Address, pretending to aim at the reformation of mankind, points out the practice of personal Slavery, as one particular that *he* thinks requires it, and recommends the adoption of a plan that he opines would be likely to abolish it, never giving himself time to consider our natural frailties—the impossibility of absolute perfection—that there are faults in every human institution, and that till self-interest ceases to have influence over the actions of men, proposals that strike at the very root of their temporal interests—their ease—their convenience and grandeur, will never be listened to. He might as well have poured forth his eloquence against the lawless ambition of Kings in sacrificing millions of their fellow creatures—the knavery of Statesmen—the avarice of Bishops, Lawyers, Physicians and Merchants—the endless endeavours of men universally to overreach one another, and the continued scene of bloodshed and cruelty exhibited by most of our favourite sports; all which it is evident, from his not mentioning them, he secretly approves; I say, he might as well have poured forth his eloquence on all or any of these, as exercise his declamatory powers on Slavery. A man of a liberal and benevolent way of thinking, would have seen that they are all but the necessary consequences of the imperfection of our nature; and that his leisure hours might have been better employed, than in railing at slavery, which at the
worst

worst cannot be said to sacrifice millions for so trifling a pittance as a small spot of land.

The Addresser absurdly endeavours to prove from scripture, that the Slavery tolerated by the Mosaic law, was essentially different from that now imposed on the Africans; and gives some reasons (as specious as he can make them) to convince us they might have particular reasons for the kind of slavery they did tolerate. He might as well have inferred that if the advocates for Slavery, justify the practice under that law; the other parts of it, in every particular, are still obligatory; and although subjecting us to some inconvenient ceremonies, would give us a title to many valuable privileges, as turning off a wife we might be tired of, &c. &c. But as I observed at setting out, the authority of scripture is now generally rejected by men of a liberal way of thinking. I shall therefore be more brief on any arguments drawn from it on either side, and confine myself to such, as in my own opinion, are reasonable and in point. Is it not highly probable that the Africans we enslave, are descendants of the very same Heathen that were *round about* the Israelites, who we all know lived a long time in Africa? If so, as they still remain unconverted, are they not yet in the same predicament with their ancestors? And as, without much arrogance we may esteem ourselves as Israelites, or at least descended from them, will it be denied that we are entitled to the liberty of enslaving the Africans and the Heathen *round about* us also? This last is a trade we might drive on with very little shipping, and may be worthy of consideration.

Our author, in attempting to prove the inconsistency of Slavery under the Christian dispensation, is quite

blasphemous. He would infer that although there is no *express* precept against the Slave-trade to Africa or keeping Slaves, they are both absolutely repugnant to the very genius and spirit of Christianity. Just as if we were to imagine any evil was intended to be removed that was not expressly forbidden in the New-Testament. This would be to suppose that the lawless ambition of Kings sacrificing millions of their fellow creatures, and the little catalogue of other necessary consequences of the imperfection of our nature, before mentioned, are inconsistent with the Christian religion. How absurd is such reasoning? How impious its author! 'Tis well he is not within the reach of a Popish inquisition; he certainly would have made a principle character in an *Auto de fe*.

Notwithstanding his absurdities, and his being totally unacquainted with the subject, I admit his arguments have some weight in these northern colonies. Truth and justice should have very distinct ideas annexed to them at the pole, from what they convey under the equinoctial. There is a certain *political necessity* by which those ideas should be regulated; and as this necessity may be very different in different latitudes, a practice may be meritorious in the West-Indies, which in Canada is far otherwise. Had our author and his associates confined their slander to their own countrymen, and *expressly* excepted the West-Indians from any share in them, I should have had no objection to the display of their abilities. He certainly never considered that the inhabitants of the British islands in the West-Indies, hold to the value of £.22,000,000 in live stock, exclusive of quadrupeds and other chattels; and that were his pernicious doctrines, (which thus impiously exclude the idea of political necessity) to prevail, they might soon be twenty-two millions of money poorer than they now esteem themselves

themselves to be.—Rum, Sugar, Rice and Indigo are indispensable necessities of life; and if we exclude Negroes, we must introduce white men in their cultivation, which would never answer; for they could not sustain the labour as well as blacks, as this author himself is pleased, with unusual candour, to allow; and perhaps it might be rather difficult (especially if they were Britons) to persuade them to submit, to what their masters might think a proper correction in compelling them to it. The obstinacy of their tempers might occasion an exertion of spirit in the masters, that would sometimes bring the lives of the latter as well as the former into some danger, as without doubt it would happen now and then, that a surviving fellow servant might be hardy enough to inform, and claim the vengeance of the laws, which in the case of white men, may not be suffered to remain as they now are: Besides this, there would be a danger that industrious servants would frequently become masters; and if this ever happened in the sugar colonies, and they were not able to make fifty hogheads of sugar each; by joining in the expence, they might obviate the difficulties arising from the great expence of sugar-works; for it appears it is no more worth while to erect proper works for the manufacture of any less quantity, than it would be in a wheat country, for every petty farmer to build a mill for the grinding his own grain. By such means in time the great estates of the West-Indians would be divided, and many families, who by honest industry have risen to affluence, could rise no *higher*. This would probably discourage that profusion of expence, for which the West-Indians have been always remarkable, and which has been so advantageous to the Mother Country, a consideration highly worthy of attention; even if by such a division of estates, the reve-

nues

nues of government were not lessened; which would certainly be the case if the number of *whites* was increased, who would undoubtedly consume more among themselves. Now the quantity of West-India produce does not only benefit Britain in respect to the revenue, but the Sugar, &c. sent home, by giving employment to the refiners of Sugar, sailors, ship-builders, &c. also *creates* an increase of its inhabitants; whether by any prolific, or what other quality in the Sugar, &c. I cannot tell; but such is the fact, as I am informed by the *Defence*.

Was government sufficiently stupid to listen to the complaint of the author of the *Address* and his associates, or any such visionary enthusiasts, and proclaim liberty to *four hundred* thousand Negroes, who are said to be in the British islands only, it is most probable that near *four* thousand gentlemen Christians, and among them some of the richest British subjects, would be immediately reduced to a most calamitous situation—would be obliged to content themselves with what they have already so equitably acquired by their labour; and one hundred times that number of poor stupid Negroes would be turned adrift, and forever after deprived of *their* kind care and protection. What an unchristian conduct would this be? I am really quite tired of this writers absurdities; nor less shocked at his want of humanity.

Had he and his associates confined themselves to the supposed propriety of prohibiting the African trade in general terms, I should not have felt the least desire of combatting their opinions. But he has represented the West-India Planters as a set of hardened monsters; or at least that many cruel punishments are inflicted on their Slaves by *some* of them. He little thinks I can trace most of his

his malicious hints to the identical persons he aims at. Does he idly imagine that there is any difficulty in seeing that the syringe of his venom is principally levelled against the Hon. Mr. — of Bar—s, John —, Esq; of Ant—a, Mr. — of St. K—s,—a certain Honourable and worthy gentleman of Jam—ca, who commonly wears blue cloaths, &c. &c. I could point out several others who are evidently the particular objects of his slander, were I so disposed; but these are sufficient to satisfy the public, that his reflections are altogether *personal*, and that his *Address* is written solely with a design to spread them. As to his particular instances of barbarity, he does not mention one that is well supported by proof, and we cannot admit the possibility of the facts, as the author of the *Defence* assures us *he* never was an eye-witness of one single instance as particularized in the *Address*, &c. and yet with a candour that is ever the companion of truth, he does allow a *few* instances of the kind mentioned, had happened. One or two more of these fanatic writers adduce authorities for some of their assertions of this sort. I would not offer to impeach the credit of Sir Hans Sloan, but he was certainly a milky tempered man, whose mind was not properly impressed with the idea of the *political necessity* of such a conduct to keep slaves in *proper* awe; and I must say, I think as he had received civilities from many gentlemen in Jamaica, and considerable additions were there made to his collection of natural curiosities, his character as a *gentleman* would have shone quite as conspicuously, had he suppressed some of his reflections on their behaviour to their slaves.—The deserving part of the Negroes will maintain their good behaviour, and
the

the worthless from motives of fear take care *never* to *merit* punishment ; so that the little severity commonly used among them is *unmerited* and merely *in Terrorem*. But when they are faulty, and you omit correction, they will surely *laugh* heartily at your folly. If you are foolish enough to be indulgent and easy with them, they will not only exercise their risible faculties, but become complete villains ; and the chances are ten to one that your particular favourites are the ringleaders in every insurrection. Notwithstanding all this, such is their clemency and forbearance, that the most severe penalties are inflicted on any one who chastises a Negroe without acquainting the proprietor, or if he should unluckily be in England, why then rather than you should be *laughed* at (which we all know is very provoking) a formal complaint to his Manager, who is always or *generally* a gentleman by birth or education, will answer the purpose. The whip with which the driver always follow the Negroes while at their work, is only carried as a badge of authority, and so little used, that like Edward the Confessor's sceptre, it may be handed down to succeeding generations.

Another objection of our sagacious *Addressor* is pointed at the severity of the laws in the southern colonies and islands, respecting Negroes. His ignorance accompanies him in every line ; and yet I admit that at first sight, many of them do really *appear* harsh, and give an idea *rather* unfavourable of the clemency of their legislatures ; but on examination, the harshness of this first *appearance* will entirely vanish ; they will appear excusable and absolutely necessary to the *good* government, and safety
of

of the white people. Thus the *looming* of the fogs of ignorance, when dispelled by the winds of *political necessity*, will no more deceive us.—The disproportion of whites and blacks is there very great ; and self-preservation, that first and ruling principle of human nature, has made them jealous and *perhaps* severe in their laws, but they are but mere *threats* as it were, and only held up, as the drivers whip, to intimidate delinquents. They are found to be essential in the very *being* of those colonies. Is it not strange that those thunder headed scribblers cannot view them through the medium of this political necessity on which I have so clearly insisted ?—Slaves are never *capitally* punished but for the most flagrant crimes, nor condemned without the clearest proof ; nay, such is their tenderness on this head, that I have known a humane gentleman frequently to conceal the most atrocious crime, rather than suffer the unhappy perpetrator to be punished with *death*. To suppose that masters would choose to forfeit their service forever, which is the undeniable consequence of a *capital* punishment, would be to prove them destitute of common sense as well as compassion. In some cases we allow slaves have been burnt or gibbeted alive, but neither of these modes of punishment, nor any other *ever* used among them, can come under the idea of severity, if we reflect on what Ravallao, Damien, and others have suffered for murdering, or attempting to murder Kings, or even that *cruel* Israelitish practice of boring the ear of a Slave with an awl, and obliging him to do all his work *fastened* in that shocking manner to a door post, which 'tis probable he was obliged to drag after him, when he had occasion to move.

The charge of starving their Slaves is as groundless, and may as easily be refuted. Would you, wise Sir ! esteem it good policy to starve a yoke of oxen, and especially in seed time and harvest, on the labour of which you depended for bread ? It is certainly true that they do not invite negroes to their turtle feasts, nor feed them with the nicest dainties ; but they have a proper allowance of corn in all places ; in some they are allowed a part of Sunday, and in others even all that day, to raise their own provisions. Nay, it is not very uncommon for very good masters, to give them their daily allowance, and all Sunday besides to themselves. Hence it sometimes happens that provident cunning fellows (for such there are even among these brutes) have been known to sell *considerable* quantities of produce, and indulge themselves with a variety of *luxuries*.

It is very evident that notwithstanding the accounts of fabulous voyagers, the Negroes on the western coasts of Africa, are the most stupid, beastly race of animals in human shape, of any in the whole world. The brutality, nastiness, indolence and other *criminal* propensities of the Hottentots, are a convincing proof of the truth of my assertion ; and though I admit they are not destitute of hospitality to strangers (of which *Æsop* gives us many instances, even in four footed beasts) yet I am far from thinking this can counterbalance their execrable fondness for raw flesh. — The author of the *Defence* asserts that there are four or five different species of men, — with submission, I will limit them to four, viz. 1st, Europeans, 2d, Asiaticks, 3d, Americans, and 4th, Africans, and retracting the word *species*, substitute *genus*, which is more expressive of my idea as being a general term, by
which

which I would distinguish the last as only a *species* of that *genus*, though utterly devoid of reason. Carrying this idea a little further, I would yet subdivide the Africans into five *classes*, arranging them in the order as they approach nearest to reason, as 1st, Negroes, 2d, Ourang Outangs, 3d, Apes, 4th, Baboons, and 5th. Monkeys. The opinion of their irrationality is so well supported by *facts*, that to those acquainted with them, I need advance very little on the subject; but to remove every scruple from the sceptic, a little undeniable evidence may not be improper.—There never was a civilized nation of any other complexion than *white*; nor ever any individual eminent either in action or speculation that was not rather inclining to the *fair*. Africa, except a small part of it, inhabited by those of our own colour, is totally overrun with Barbarism—nay such is the contaminating influence of black, that I fear I need not except *even* the *whites* among *them*. Perhaps this observation may assist us in accounting for the few appearances of Barbarism we now and then discover among the *whites* in our southern colonies and islands, where *blacks* bear so large a proportion to their number. But to proceed from this short digression, Africa has no kingdoms of any eminence, but chiefly consists of petty monarchies, excepting Bildulgerid, Ethiopia, Nubia, Abissinia, Morocco, and many others that are rather large. That they are *all* perpetually at war with each other, we are well assured, for it is certainly the case with all the petty nations, that are not very distant from our European factories on their western coasts, from the river Senegal to the Cape of Good Hope; the Hottentots, Ferlys and some few others, only excepted. The stupidity of the natives cannot be attributed to climate; for that rule would also effect the Chinese

and the West-Indians themselves ; and besides, the Moors (who are situated at no great distance from the Slave coasts) have always made a figure in history, and the Egyptians were once eminent for the progress of the arts. But these are rather instances of the powers of sagacious instinct than a proof of my opinion, respecting the irrationality of *all* Africans, being erroneous. Let not any in answer to what I have said relating to their governments and wars, object the similarity of description given by Tacitus and other historians, of many European nations in early ages. Such an objection can have no weight, when we consider the Europeans are blessed with reason, and therefore capable of improvement. Besides the descriptions of this kind are made by Roman authors, who generally gave an exaggerated picture of the manners of any people with whom they were at war, and especially if they had any particular designs on them, or to enslave them or any thing else for which they could pretend no just authority, for such representations might afford them some excuse for their lawless ambition. This furnishes us too, with another strong reason for discrediting abundance of idle tales, on which the arguments of these gloomy opposers of Slavery are founded, as I have before observed.

I could never perceive the Africans have the most distant notions of a supreme being, which had they any rational powers, they would certainly have either by intuition, or the benefit of the connection which those near our factories especially must have with abundance of *pious* white people, whose lawful concerns carrying them into Africa, we may suppose spare no opportunities of benefitting them in any sense. In the conversation of these, the Negroes would frequently hear imprecations,
that

that would communicate the *notion* of the whites on this subject. They have, however, a confused notion of an evil spirit called *Jumbee*, who is able to do them mischief, and it is a custom among them to hang a broken bottle, a bit of rag, or any thing else by way of charm near their ground, which they call *Oby*, and is I suppose their good spirit. When their property is thus guarded, few Negroes will have the boldness to steal any part of it. How such irrationals came by even so much religion is hard to find, except we may be allowed a conjecture that they have a faint notion of image worship; borrowed probably from Roman itinerant Missionaries, as I think Baretti tells us that among the Catholics, when any indecency is intended in the presence of a picture Saint or Madona, a cloth is carefully placed before the picture to conceal such indecency from their view. They also make some little shew of religion at their funerals, but this too may be well attributed to imitation; and we may assign the same cause, if we discover any thing like sentiments of friendship, gratitude, or other social ties among them.—In arts and sciences, they have never made the least progress, which is another strong proof of their brutality. In their music, although there seems to be a kind of discordant harmony, I have never been able to discover their having any notion of the *gamut*; neither have they adopted our best system of astronomy. When did we ever hear of a Caractacus or a Newton, a Boadicea or a Confucius existing in Africa. It is true history informs us that it once had a Hannibal, a Ptolemy and a Hipparchus, but then there is no positive proof of their being *natives* of it.—The author of the address has attempted to prove they have some *genius*. I will be candid enough to allow there have been surprizing instances of *docility* in
Negroes.

Negroes. Such for instance was that of a Negroe fellow in Jamaica, who seemed to have some parts and learning, and could talk in a manner, that had his colour been concealed, and he had stuck a piece of wax on his nose to make it a little more prominent, might have been mistaken for a rational creature possessing a tolerable knowledge in the law. I have myself seen several Negroes, who by dint of great labour and attention in their owners, have become very good mechanicks, as jewellers, watch-makers, &c. Nay I have known more than one of them who were capable of keeping a set of books in the Italian method in a neat correct manner. But we are not to suppose a few such instances, or that a mere *Lusus Naturæ* can add any strength to the supposition of their being endued with reason. We all know that extraordinary instances of docility in brutes have naturally excited great admiration in all ages. Pliny and many others have given us surprizing relations of this kind, and I have been told when a boy, of an elephant in Africa following the occupation of a tinker with some reputation. The ingenuity of mechanicks have also furnished us with occasions of wonder in imitations of divers kinds; for instance, the inanimate flying eagle at Vienna—the crowing cock at Strasburg—the speaking clock in Ireland, and abundance more, which sufficiently prove the ingenuity of Europeans, but do by no means convince us that the said eagle, cock and clock were rational beings. Indeed what we are told of ingenuity in Negroes, has sometimes a little staggered my hypothesis; and would induce a suspicion of their mother's fidelity, was not the whole race of them so extremely forbidding in their persons; and the antipathy of all the *whites* to them and their descendants so unconquerable, as entirely to satisfy me on that head. The
probability

probability of the falsity of such relations, or of their being much exaggerated to gratify a natural fondness for the marvellous and wonderful, is much more in its favour.

The *Addresser* endeavours to convince us that Negroes pine and degenerate in the islands. It is evidently otherwise; for when an estate there is sold, much higher prices are given for their two footed stock born in the West-Indies, than for those imported from Africa.—Would this wise acre himself give as much for a horse which had not been broke to the shafts or saddle, as for one that had those advantages? Surely not.

He then goes on with his objections to the method of carrying on the Slave-trade. The reasons I suggested in my observations on the pamphlets I first took notice of, preclude the necessity of my enlarging on this particular point. It is very plain that Slaves are bought in a *fair* course of trade; and even could he prove that it is not in the course of a *fair* trade, it would be nothing to the purpose—if a commodity, a cow for instance, is brought to me for sale, is it my business to enter with a critical nicety, into an enquiry by what means the seller procured her? I am sure if I did, I should forfeit all pretensions to the character of a gentleman; and I am as confident, that *whatever* the means are, by which slaves are brought among us, or whether their servitude in the West-Indies is voluntary or not; or even if I should admit all the accounts of the villainies and cruelties practised in the trade were short of the truth, I should yet be justified in the purchase of them, as it is a most certain introduction to health and happiness in a situation, where they have fewer cares, and less anxiety about to-morrow, than any people in the whole world.

world. They have (in a general way however) their usual allowance of provisions, and are entirely exempted from all the distresses attendant on war. The Negroe it is true, cannot easily change his master, but to make amends for this slight inconvenience, he enjoys a singular advantage over his brother in freedom of being *carefully* attended in sickness, and of having the same provision in old age as in youth. Instead of being oppressed to feed a large family, like the free comfortless labourers in Europe, the more children he has, the richer he becomes; for the moment a child is born, the happy parents receive as much additional provision, as with their own allowance, will amount to *more* than they can eat; and in case of their own death, (if by living among *whites*, they should chance to have attained any thing like reflection) they will quit the world with the comfortable certainty of their children being brought up with the *same* kind care, they formerly experienced themselves. What Philosopher, Epicurean or Stoick, could wish for more? In these islands and colonies only, do the highly favoured Africans realize the fabulous history of the golden age. Was their happy state but known in Great-Britain and Ireland—what emigrations there would be in search of this terrestrial elysium? Acts of Parliament would then be really necessary—not indeed to comply with the visionary schemes of gloomy enthusiasts—but to prevent the entire depopulation of those kingdoms.

The cause I plead is so well supported by the Suffrages of Custom and Right Reason, that I fear I have made an apology to the public necessary for detaining it's attention so long on arguments drawn from self-evident principles. I have heard of a certain Philosopher who wrote a large folio
volume

lume to prove that light came from the Sun. I flatter myself I am more excuseable, as I write for the reformation of gloomy fanaticks, who to mulish obstinacy joine a most illiberal and malevolent turn of thinking ; and I have no less in view than to convince them of errors far more mischievous in their consequences, than any that could arise from its remaining undetermined, what may be the true source of light.

That the *Address* is a scandalous libel, in which some of the West-Indians are unworthily traduced, I have already proved ; and am sure that the least the public can do, to testify a decent detestation of it's most malevolent slanders, is to have it formally committed to the flames by the hands of the common hangman. The inhabitants should consider that the West-Indies form a considerable branch of their commerce, and that therefore it ill becomes them to suffer *any* practice to be opprobriously stigmatized as unjust or impolitic, in which the West-Indians happen to be concerned. They should also remember, that a genteel sum of money was lately received from that quarter, for the use of their College, for which they have been highly commended by its Provost. Every one must suppose that in delivering his commendations, he spoke the sentiments of the other Professors, and surely those Gentlemen, equally remarkable for their piety and learning, would not have bestowed praises on a people, whose conduct in *any* respect was exceptionable. It is therefore evident that all the Professors are Advocates for Slavery, and being learned and pious, it naturally follows that the Slave-trade in itself and in its consequences, is not at all inconsistent with religion or sound policy.

What

What will not this same *Addresser* and *his associates* deserve, if in resentment for their infamous usage of them; the West-Indians should determine to decline their commerce with the northern colonies of America? Resentment working in men of honour, may carry them a great way. They may find resources to supply themselves with flour and pork, or with succedaneums that will do as well. The white people of fortune in the West-Indies are comparatively but few in number, and might be supplied nearly with all *they* use of these articles from the Carolinas. It would then only remain to supply the lower class of whites, and the demands of the Negroes. —It is supposed that one hundred thousand Slaves are yearly shipped in the African ports for the British West-India islands. Of these perhaps twenty thousand die on the passage. Now when their death is not occasioned by any bad disorder, if there was a proper quantity of salt on board, the bodies might be cured in pickle or smoak; and the same method pursued with those that die on land, or are past labour. A considerable quantity of provision might be thus procured that would furnish a tolerable succedaneum for *pork* and hams. I have never heard that this kind of meat is deemed unwholesome, but on the contrary, that the Cannibals are a hardy robust race of people. —The scheme is new, and might not be very eligible—I only mention it as a *dernier resort*, and which a very high degree of resentment only could ever incline them to have recourse to.

